

ATTACHMENT

Memo from Mr. Tracy to Mr. Tolson
dated 9/24/51 RE: AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION
BRIEF ON COMMUNISM

FOREWORD

The American Bar Association is of the opinion that Communism and its basic doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, are not understood and the dangers fully appreciated by the American people.

This brief has been prepared for distribution to the public for its use and study.

CODY FOWLER,
President.

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

Brief on

COMMUNISM: MARXISM-LENINISM Its Aims, Purposes, Objectives and Practices

This brief is produced to explain why the American Bar Association has resolved to expel and recommend the disbarment of all lawyers who are members of The Communist Party of the United States or who advocate "Marxism-Leninism".¹

Implicit in this action by the Association is the conviction that Communists and Communism constitute a menace to the integrity of the American Constitutional system which the Association through its membership is sworn to uphold and defend.

In the debate on the resolution it became evident that there is widespread ignorance and confusion throughout the United States concerning the nature of Commu-

¹Resolution I

WHEREAS, The Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism call for the establishment in the United States of a dictatorship "untrammelled by law," and

WHEREAS, The American Constitutional system and the American principle of individual rights and duties would be violated by such a system, and

WHEREAS, Such concept is incompatible with the obligations of a lawyer as an officer of the courts of the United States and the several states.

BE IT NOW THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the American Bar Association proceeding only in the manner provided in its constitution and by-laws expel from its membership any and every individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States, or who advocates Marxism-Leninism, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this resolution be referred immediately by the President of the Association to an appropriate committee of the Association for prompt action.

Resolution II

BE IT RESOLVED, That Resolution I be referred to all State and Local Bar Associations with the recommendation that they expel from their membership any and every individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or who advocates Marxism-Leninism.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this report be sent to all State and Local Bar Associations in the United States for the information of the members thereof.

Resolution III

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Bar Association recommend that all State and Local Bar Associations or appropriate authorities immediately commence disciplinary actions of disbarment of all lawyers who are members of the Communist Party of the United States or who advocate Marxism-Leninism (Adopted by House of Delegates, ABA, Feb., 1951).

nism and concerning the objects and purposes of those people in this country and elsewhere who embrace and follow Communist teachings. In large part the confusion is deliberately created by the Communists themselves. The advancement of the Communist movement in America depends for success upon a general misunderstanding of Communism and of Communist aims on the part of those outside the fold.

If the real purposes, aims, tactics and practices of Communism were as clear to all Americans as they undoubtedly are to the Communists themselves, the popular revulsion of patriotic Americans against all who follow the conspiratorial cult and the Communist "line" would stop this subversive movement in its tracks.

Hence, the purpose of this brief is to acquaint the American people with what Communism really is—not by way of objective interpretation but essentially by letting Communism speak for itself through its official spokesmen in their authoritative texts:

The Communist Manifesto (C. M.)²—Marx and Engels.

State and Revolution (S. R.)—Lenin.

"Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder" (L. W.)—Lenin.

Foundations of Leninism (F. L.)—Stalin.

Problems of Leninism (P. L.)—Stalin.

"History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (S. H.) (Bolsheviks) authorized by the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B), edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B) and edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B) and Published by International Publishers Co., Inc. (Copyright 1939; Published 1938).

The Communist Manifesto (36 pages—price 10¢) was published in 1848—but it became and is the Old Testament of and for all Communists. It states the basic theory of Communism.

Lenin implemented the theory of Marx into actual Revolution and (1917) his two books became the New Testament of and for all Communists. (For extended reading see Lenin's "Collected Works"—some 60 volumes.)

Stalin in his two basic volumes has extended the "theory" of Marx and practices of Lenin into the present practical application that now controls the thoughts and actions of 800,000,000 people of the world.

The "History" is a "Short Course",—required reading for all Communists; it has been translated into some 200 languages and dialects. From time to time in new editions as "historical materialism" may require, the "facts" of history are changed or obliterated. It is the "Party" Bible and replaces the necessity of reading the "Old" and "New" Testament.

² For the sake of brevity the initials of these books will be used in this brief.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (1848)

THE "THEORY" OR PHILOSOPHY OF MARX AND ENGELS

Seizure of Power and retention of Power throughout the World by the Proletariat³ is only a matter of time. The establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is inevitable.

"The theory of the Communists may be summed up in one single sentence: Abolition of private property."

"And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at."

"In a word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend."

"The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination."

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class."

The Manifesto then lays down ten preliminary steps to be attained before the Dictatorship of the Proletariat takes over.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

³ As defined by the authors:

(1) We are all "bourgeois".

(2) We are now living in the "epoch of imperialism".

(3) "Peasants" are human beings as distinguished from "bourgeois", "workers" and "intelligentsia".

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equitable distribution of the population over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of child factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc."

The final paragraph of the Manifesto:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

REVOLUTION—FORCE AND VIOLENCE

Is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to come into Power by "Revolution" in the sense of a peaceful political or economic change within the framework of any Government, or does "Revolution" mean—"force and violence"?

"We have already said above and shall show more fully later that the teaching of Marx and Engels regarding the inevitability of a violent revolution refers to the bourgeois state. It cannot be replaced by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through 'withering away', but, as a general rule, only through violent revolution. . . . The necessity of systematically fostering among the masses this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' teaching . . .⁴

"The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution". (Lenin—S. H. 19-20)

"It is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power".

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most determined and the most ruthless war waged by the new class against the . . . enemy . . . the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible, without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war which requires perseverance, discipline, firmness, inflexibility, and unity of will". (Lenin—L. W. 9)

"It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes be in a state of governmental crisis . . . and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly". (Lenin—L. W. 65)

⁴ Underscoring and capitals are the original text throughout this brief.

Stalin confirms:

"Can such a radical transformation of the old bourgeois system of society be achieved without a violent revolution without the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully within the framework of bourgeois democracy . . . means one of two things. It means either madness, and the loss of normal human understanding, or else an open and gross repudiation of the proletarian revolution. . . ." (Stalin—P. L. 20)

"Lenin always taught that without a revolution of the working class capitalism cannot be overthrown". (S. H. 168)

Finally, as to the Marx, Engels, Lenin definition of "Revolution" (Lenin is contemptuously castigating his "fellow travelers", (the Mensheviks) who argued for "Revolution" as a theory to be accomplished by peaceful means);

"Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? Revolution is undoubtedly the most authoritative thing possible. It is an act in which one section of the population imposes its will on the other by means of rifles, bayonets, cannon, i.e., by highly authoritative means and the victorious party is inevitably forced to maintain its supremacy by means of that fear which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. (Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day had it not relied on the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie? Are we not, on the contrary, entitled to blame the Commune for not having made sufficient use of this authority?) And so; either—or either the anti-authoritarians do not know what they are talking about, in which case they merely sow confusion; or they do know, in which case they are betraying the cause of the proletariat. In either case they serve only the interests of reactions". (Lenin—S. R. 53)

IS THE REVOLUTION LIMITED TO CONTINENTAL RUSSIA?

"International imperialism with all the might of its capital and its highly organized military technique, which represents a real force, a real fortress of international capital, could under no circumstances, under no possible conditions, live side by side with the Soviet republic, both because of its objective situation and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class which was incorporated in it, it could not do this because of commercial ties and of international financial relationships. A conflict is inevitable. This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian Revolution, its greatest historical problem; the necessity to call forth the world revolution" (Stalin—P. L. 20)

Stalin quoting Lenin (Collected Works, Russian edition) says:

"'We are living,' Lenin writes, 'not merely in a state but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one

or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove it also by military organization."

"Clear, one would think!" (Stalin—P. L. 67)

Stalin quotes Lenin again on World Revolution:

"Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in one single capitalist country taken separately. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production (My italics—J. S.), would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states." (Collected Works). (Stalin—P. L. 69)

Again he quotes and states (My italics—J. S.)—

"The existence of two diametrically opposed social systems gives rise to the constant menace of capitalist blockade, or other forms of economic pressure, of armed intervention, of restoration. Consequently, nothing but a victorious socialist revolution in a number of countries can provide the guarantee for the final victory of socialism, that is to say, guarantees against restoration. . . . Leninism teaches that the final victory of socialism, in the sense of full guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relations, is possible only on an international scale. . . ." (Stalin—P. L. 71)

"... imperialism has not only made revolution a practical necessity; it has created favorable conditions for a direct attack on the citadels of capitalism." (Stalin—P. L. 13)

"The main task of contemporary Communism in Western Europe and America is to acquire the ability to seek, to find, to determine correctly the concrete path, or the particular turn of events that will bring the masses right up to the real, decisive, last and great revolutionary struggle." (Lenin—L. W. 76)

"We do not know . . . which spark . . . will kindle the conflagration. . . ." (Lenin—L. W. 79)

"Then there is the question: can a country, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, consider itself fully guaranteed against foreign intervention, and consequently against the restoration of the old order, without the victory of the revolution in a number of other countries, a question which must be answered in the negative." (Stalin—P. L. 62)

"What is needed is the ability to find at any moment that particular link in the chain which must be grasped with all one's might to gain control of the whole chain and pass without a hitch to the next link" (Lenin). (Stalin—P. L. 100)

POWER AND POWER ALONE IS THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Both in theory and in practice the ultimate aim of Communism is the establishment throughout the world of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"The question of power is the fundamental question of revolution. . . . The seizure of power is only the beginning. . . . Therefore, the important thing is to retain power, to consolidate it and make it invincible. What is required to attain this end? At least three main tasks confronting the proletariat "on the morrow" of its victory must be fulfilled. They are: (a) to break the resistance of the landed proprietors and capitalists now overthrown and expropriated by the revolution, and to liquidate every attempt they make to restore the power of capital; (b) to organize construction in such a way as will rally all toilers around the proletariat and prepare the way for the liquidation, the extinction of classes; (c) to arm the revolution and to organize the army of the revolution for the struggle against the external enemy and for the struggle against imperialism."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary in order to carry out and fulfil these tasks." (Stalin—F. L.)

"The Supreme principle of the dictatorship is the preservation of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, in order that the proletariat may continue to retain the leading role and state power." (Stalin—F. L. 24).

"... It by no means follows that during the period of construction, the coercive side of the dictatorship has fallen away, or can fall away. The organs of suppression, the army and other organizations, are as necessary now in the period of construction as they were during the civil war period." (Stalin—P. L. 27)

"You will have to go through 15, 20 or even 50 years of civil and international war," . . . Marx." (Stalin—F. L. 47)

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolutionary power based on violence against the bourgeoisie." (Stalin—F. L. 49)

"... the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a concept of the state. The dictatorship of the proletariat must necessarily include the concept of violence. There is no dictatorship without violence if dictatorship is to be understood in the strict sense of the term. Lenin defines dictatorship of the proletariat as 'power based directly on violence' (Collected Works)" (P. L.)

"To put it briefly: the dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a domination THAT IS UNTRAMMELED BY LAW AND BASED ON VIOLENCE AND ENJOYS the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses (cf. Lenin, State and Revolution)." (Stalin—F. L.)

"THE PARTY" IS THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT
and
ARE THE MASSES THE PARTY?

"... one of the most important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state, namely, (1) the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' . . ."

"(the state, that is, the proletariat organized as the ruling class" (Lenin—S. R. 22)

"The proletariat needs state power, the centralized organization of violence . . ." (Lenin—S. R. 23)

"... 'only the class conscious minority (that is, the party—J. S.) can lead the broad masses of the workers.' That it is precisely in this sense that 'by the dictatorship of the proletariat we mean, in essence, the dictatorship of its organized and class conscious minority.'" (Stalin—P. L. 36)

"... not a single important decision is arrived at by the mass organizations of the proletariat without directions from the Party." (Stalin—P. L. 36)

"The Party, with a membership of several hundred thousand, leads the soviets, with their national and local ramifications, which embraces several millions of people." (Stalin—P. L. 39)

"Any other conception of leadership is syndicalism, anarchism, bureaucracy or anything you please; but not Bolshevism, not Leninism." (Stalin—P. L. 53)

"Every army at war must have an experienced staff, if it is to avoid certain defeat. All the more reason, therefore, why the proletariat must have such a general staff if it is to prevent itself from being routed by its accursed enemies. But where is this general staff? Only the revolutionary party of the proletariat can serve as this general staff. A working class without a revolutionary party is like an army without a general staff. The party is the military staff of the proletariat."

The disciplined Party, says Lenin, will not enroll:

"... every 'professor' and 'student', . . . every 'sympathiser', and 'striker'." (Lenin—F. L.)

"only the soviet state organization can definitely destroy at one blow the old, i.e. the bourgeois administrative and judicial apparatus". (Stalin—F. L.)

"The Soviet power combines the legislative and executive functions in a single state body. . . ." (Stalin—F. L.)

"It follows that the existence of factions is incompatible with Party unity and with iron discipline . . . the parties of the Communist International . . . cannot afford to be 'liberal' or to permit the formation of factions. The Party is synonymous with unity of will, which leaves no room for any factionalism or division of Party control." (F. L.)

The peasants, the largest class and the great majority of the people in Russia are not part of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The peasants, says Stalin, are the "Proletariat's greatest reserve power." (Stalin—F. L. 42)

"Its quintessence (that is, of the dictatorship—J. S.) lies in the organization and discipline of the advanced detachments of the toilers, of their vanguard, their sole leader, the proletariat" (Stalin—F. L. 26)

"Now we must consider the dictatorship of the proletariat from the point of view of its structure, of its 'mechanism', of the role and significance of the 'belts', the 'levers', and the 'directing force', the totality of which comprise, 'the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat', and with the help of which the daily work of the dictatorship of the proletariat is accomplished". (Stalin—P. L. 29)

The organizations are—

"First, of all these are the workers' trade unions. . . . They are not Party organizations. . . . They constitute a school of communism. . . . They unite the masses of the workers with their vanguard.

Secondly, we have the Soviets. . . . The Soviets are mass organizations of all the toilers of town and country. They are not Party organizations. . . . The Soviets unite the vast toiling masses with the proletarian vanguard.

Thirdly, we have co-operative societies of all kinds. . . . These are mass organizations of toilers, not Party organizations. . . .

Fourthly, there is the Young Communist League. . . . Not a party organization.

Lastly, there is the Party of the proletariat, its vanguard. The Party's strength lies in the fact that it draws into its ranks all the best elements of the proletariat from all the mass organizations of the proletariat. Its function is to combine the work of all the mass organizations of the proletariat, without exception, and to guide their activities towards a single goal, that of the emancipation of the proletariat. . . . Only the vanguard of the proletariat, its Party, is capable of combining and directing the work of the mass organizations of the proletariat. Only the Party of the proletariat, only the Party of the Communists, is capable of fulfilling this role of chief leader in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Stalin—P. L. 29 to 32)

"... The Party realises the dictatorship of the proletariat. 'The Party is the direct governing vanguard of the proletariat; it is the leader'. (Lenin) In this sense the Party takes power, the Party governs the country". (Stalin—P. L.)

"The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be contrasted with the leadership (the 'dictatorship') of the Party. It is inadmissible because the leadership of the Party is the principal thing in the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . ." (Stalin—P. L. 45)

"Here in the Soviet Union, in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fact that not a single important political or organizational question

is decided by our Soviet and other mass organizations without direction from the Party must be regarded as the highest expression of the leading role of the Party. In this sense it could be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is in essence the 'dictatorship' of its vanguard, the 'dictatorship' of its Party, as the main guiding force of the proletariat. (Stalin—P. L. 34)

"The political Party can organize only a minority of the class in the same way as the really class conscious workers in capitalist society can represent only a minority of all the workers. That is why we must admit that only this class conscious minority can lead the broad masses of the workers' (Collected Works, Vol. XXV, p. 347, Russian edition)" (Stalin—P. L. 35)

The Short History in its "Conclusion" states:

"The history of the Party teaches us that to leave the proletariat without such a party means to leave it without revolutionary leadership; and to leave it without revolutionary leadership means to ruin the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The history of the Party teaches us that the ordinary Social-Democratic Party of the West-European type, brought up under conditions of civil peace, trailing in the wake of the opportunists, dreaming of 'social reforms,' and dreading social revolution, cannot be such a party.

The history of the Party teaches us that only a party of the new type, a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of social revolution, a party capable of preparing the proletariat for decisive battles against the bourgeoisie and of organizing the victory of the proletarian revolution, can be such a party.

The Bolshevik Party in the U. S. S. R. is such a party." (S. H. 353)

"... in the Soviet Union the Bolshevik Party and the State are inseparable". (S. H. 285)

Comment:

- (a) Executive, Legislative and Judicial Power is confined to "the Party". Actually it is confined to 10 men who having seized Power retain it. There is no majority rule. There is Government only by and from a select few of the minority—the Politburo.
- (b) When Lenin seized Power from the People who overthrew the Czar in 1917 the Bolshevik Party Membership "did not exceed 40,000 or 45,000".

In the February, 1951, meetings of the American Bar Association, when the House of Delegates was considering the Resolution to authorize this document a delegate suggested that he had "looked up" the definition of "Bolshevik", and it meant the "Majority". It does.

Bolshevik—Majority.
Menshevik—Minority.

By force and violence the Lenin-Stalin Party became the majority and liquidated the minority—the Mensheviks.

The first all Russian Congress of Soviets met June 3 (16) 1917. The Bolsheviks had 100 delegates. The Mensheviks, Social-Democrats and others 700 or 800 delegates. (S. H. 192)

The 6th Congress of the Bolshevik Party met secretly July 26th to August 3, 1917. "At that time the Party had a membership of about 240,000". (S. H. 195-6).

(N. B. Of those present only the "names" of Comrades Stalin and Molotov are "names" now extant).

The 7th Congress opened March 6, 1918. "This was the first Congress held after our Party had taken Power ... the Membership at this time was not less than 270,000". (S. H. 218). However, the delegates represented only 145,000 Party members (id).

The 8th Congress met in March, 1919. It represented 313,766 Party members. (S. H. 232)

The 9th Congress met in March, 1920, 611,978 Party Members. (S. H. 254)

"In March 1922, the Party held its Eleventh Congress. It was attended by 522 voting delegates, representing 522,000 Party Members.

The reduction in the membership was due to the Party purge which had already begun". (S. H. 260)

"The Party is strengthened by purging itself of opportunist elements". (F. L. 118)

In April, 1923, the Party held its 12th Congress—386,000 Party Members. (S. H. 262)

In May, 1924, the Party held its 13th Congress—733,881 Party Members.

"The marked increase in Membership ... was due to the admission of some 250,000 new Members under the Lenin Enrollment". (S. H. 269)

Lenin died January 21, 1924.

Stalin's vow:

"We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the union of toilers to the whole world". (S. H. 269)

The 14th Congress opened in December, 1925—643,000 Party Members.

"The reduction was due to a partial purge, a purge of the Party organizations in universities and offices to which anti-Party elements had gained entrance". (S. H. 276)

The 15th Congress met in December, 1927. In October preceding "... 724,000 Party Members voted for the policy of the Central Committee; 4,000, or less than one per cent for the block of Trotskyites

and Zinovievites". (S. H. 285) Zinoviev (later liquidated) and Trotsky, formerly Commander in Chief of the Red Army, and "The Chief instigator and ring-leader of this gang of assassins and spies was Judas Trotsky" (S. H. 327), were expelled.

The 16th Congress met June 26, 1930,—1,260,874 Party Members. (S. H. 320)

The 17th Congress met in January, 1934—1,874,488 Party Members. (S. H. 320)

Apparently as far as the "History" is concerned it was not necessary to meet again. However, it did meet in March, 1939.

"One cannot but recall Lenin's golden words uttered at the Eleventh Congress of our Party: 'Among the masses of the people, we (Communists—J. S.) are but drops in the ocean. . .'" (Stalin—P. L. 59)

Thus the word "Bolshevik"—now "The Party" means the "Majority"—; i.e. a "minority" holding control by

- (a) "Firm discipline" (S. H. 42)
- (b) "The finest members of the class". (S. H. 48)
- (c) "Democratic centralism"—Government from the top down.—"the subordination of lower Party bodies to higher Party bodies." (S. H. 49, 89)
- (d) The "purge":

"condemnation of all the opposition groups" (S. H. 254)

"This resistance to the Party policy was one more reminder that the Party needed to be purged of unstable elements. Accordingly, the Central Committee in 1921 organized a Party purge, which helped to considerably strengthen the Party. . . . Lenin advised that the Party be thoroughly cleansed 'of rascals, bureaucrats, dishonest or wavering Communists, and of Mensheviks who have repainted their facade' but who have remained Mensheviks at heart". (S. H. 259)

170,000 were purged in 1921.

"The Party became more closely welded and better disciplined". (S. H. 259) Better "disciplined" from the top. The first stage is the purge—(S. H. 295, 360)—the final—liquidation.

However, after a purge and/or liquidation—and death from natural causes, if any, the Party requires new members upon whom it can depend to keep the Leader in control.

New members are "admitted", but only—

"... on the basis of a strictly individual enrollment of 'people really advanced and really devoted to the cause of the working class, the finest people of our country, drawn above all from among the workers, and also from among peasants and active intelligentsia, who had been tried and tested in various sectors of the struggle for Socialism'". (S. H. 329)

THE PRACTICES OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Reading the Communist Manifesto was, before the "Short History", a "must" for Communists.

However, assuming the Communist reader could not digest or even read all of the Manifesto, or could not read, he was then and now compelled to believe implicitly in the ten postulates, and to believe in but one formula—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—where the Powers of Government, the Executive, Legislative and Judicial, are combined in one body. He must believe that to function, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall be controlled by the Party; that as a member of the Party or a Party Organization he must obey every edict from the top; that discipline, the purge, liquidation are essential elements of Party Power.

As in the past a Communist today must believe that he who makes the laws shall likewise execute the laws and the "Party" in power sit in judgment on its own action.

The individual Communist belongs to the State—not the State to him.

And he does believe it is his duty to the Party—not to God, because he has no God,—to "serve" mankind by establishing for him "all over the world"—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

It was logical, therefore, that there be set up in 1919 (March) the Comintern—a Communist controlled International Organization which through long range planning would prepare the way for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in all Alien lands.

Stalin in stipulating as a condition to recognition of the Soviet Union, by the United States, that the Comintern would not pursue its objectives in this country, was only "zigging" and "zagging" entirely in accordance with Soviet policy. (S. H. 73)

Supposedly dissolved during World War II, this International Organization now operates as the Cominform under direct orders and financing from Moscow. (See Congressional Committee Reports)

Hence, the Communists have—

"strenuously fought for and preserved the viewpoint that it is obligatory to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle, that it is obligatory to participate even in the most reactionary parliament and in a number of other institutions that are restricted by reactionary laws. (insurance societies, etc.) (Lenin—L. W. 21)

"It is necessary . . . to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvres, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs. (Lenin—L. W. 38)

... When conditions are such that it is often necessary to hide 'leaders' underground, the development of good, reliable, experienced and authoritative 'leaders' is an especially hard task, and these difficulties cannot be successfully overcome without combining legal with illegal work, without setting the 'leaders', among other ways, also on the parliamentary arena. (Lenin—L. W. 47)

Every effort must be made to save the Left Communists and the West European and American revolutionaries, devoted to the working class ... from deviation from Marxism. (Lenin—L. W. 53)

... To tie one's hands beforehand, openly to tell the enemy who is now better armed than we, whether and when we shall fight him is being stupid, not revolutionary ...

... these politicians of the revolutionary class who are unable 'to manoeuvre, to compromise' in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle are good for nothing." (Lenin—L. W. 58)

In

... parliament and every other type of reactionary institution, you must work inside them, precisely because in them there are still workers who are stupefied by the priests and by the desolateness of village life; otherwise you run the risk of becoming mere babblers. (Lenin—L. W. 42)"

"... revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very bad revolutionaries. (Lenin—L. W. 76)"

"What is the difference between revolutionary tactics and reformist tactics? Some are of the opinion that Leninism is opposed to reforms, opposed to compromises and to agreements in general. That is absolutely untrue. Bolsheviks know as well as anybody else that 'every little bit helps', that under certain conditions reforms in general, and compromises and agreements in particular, are necessary and useful. (Lenin—F. L. 100).

The revolutionist will accept a reform in order to use it as a means where-with to link legal work with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified. (Stalin—F. L. 101)."

So the Communists have:

- (a) Infiltrated the Labor Unions;
- (b) Worked "within Parliament";
- (c) Placed their personnel in key positions within the Government;
- (d) Organized "Front" after "Front";
- (e) Recommended in current official literature more and more infiltration in all schools and universities;
- (f) Infiltrated the Press—the Radio—the Movies—the Publishing Houses;
- (g) Organized smear campaigns upon both the living and the dead;

- (h) Rewritten their own History of the Soviet Union and distorted our factual history;
- (i) Accepted the benefits of our Bill of Rights in order to destroy our Constitution and form of Government;
- (j) Attempted to disorganize our Courts and bring Judges and Justices into disrepute.

In this connection, in 1934, the International Labor Défense (Comintern) issued its pamphlet #5 entitled "Under Arrest"—"Workers Self Defense in the Courts":

'HOW TO DEFEND YOURSELF IN COURT'.

'WHAT TO DO WHEN ARRESTED AND QUESTIONED'

'FOREWORD

"This pamphlet is being issued in order to better prepare our whole organization to give leadership to workers on what to do when arrested and questioned, and how to defend themselves in the courts of the capitalist class justice. ...

A few excerpts are taken from the pamphlet:

'... The "dignity" and "sanctity" of the courts are a means of paralyzing the struggle of the workers against capitalist institutions ...

The class struggle goes on in the courtroom as well as it does on the picket line, in the shops, and in the mines. The worker must learn to carry into the courtroom the same determined militancy that brought him there. ...

'Even though capitalist law makes what you have done a crime, you must plead "not guilty" ... never plead "guilty".'

There is a specific section which deals with the conduct to be observed in the courtroom, part of which reads as follows:

'MAKE THE COURT YOUR FORUM

'Bring out the class issues at the trial ... If you are charged with criminal syndicalism, i.e., with teaching or advocating the overthrow of government by force or violence or charged with membership in an organization that advocates and teaches such a doctrine, and then the proof by the district attorney consists of speeches that you made, articles that you wrote—newspapers that you read and support, then it is absolutely necessary for you to use the court for a clear and correct explanation of the economic and social views which you hold, of the facts of the class struggle as applied to your case. ...

"It is important that you insist upon answering questions put to you in your own way. Do not allow yourself to be bulldozed by the prosecutor and judge who may demand of you a 'Yes' or 'No' answer. You either answer your own way, or not at all. . ."

Note how well the instructions in that pamphlet were followed by defendants and their counsel at the historic trial before Judge Medina and a Federal Court jury in New York. Observe the conduct of "The Mass Workers" during the trial in picketing the Court House, jamming the Court Room, flaunting Party line banners and chanting Communist slogans. It was all right out of the "book".

WHAT DO THESE GENTLEMEN THINK OF THE UNITED STATES?

"Marx splendidly grasped this essence of capitalist democracy, when, in analyzing the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed were allowed, once every few years, to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class should be in parliament to represent and repress them!"

To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and oppress the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in the parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics". (Lenin-S. R. 40) Lenin quotes Engels on Marx:

The "ultimate political aim is to overcome the whole state, and therefore democracy as well". (Lenin-S. R. 67)

"Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e., exclusion from democracy of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the modification of democracy during the transition from capitalism to Communism." (Lenin-S. R. 73)

"In Western Europe and America parliament has become an object of special hatred to the advanced revolutionaries of the working class." (Lenin-L. W. 45-46)

Lenin argues that it is impossible

"to bring about victory of the Soviets over parliament without getting our 'Soviet' politicians into parliament, without disrupting parliamentarism from within, without preparing the ground within Parliament for the success of the Soviets' forthcoming task of dispersing parliament". (Lenin-L. W. 61)

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

To those not familiar with and who do not fully understand the language of dialectical materialism, as employed by the Communists, it might well appear that the present Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States is within the framework of our system of government. To the uninitiated it might be argued convincingly that the Communist Party of the United States is a "political party".

The precepts of our own Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are known to most of us. (Cf. "The Key to Peace"—Clarence Manion, Dean of the College of Law at Notre Dame).

Most of us will probably agree that our political Old Testament is the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self evident; That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the Governed . . ." (Preamble)

Our New Testament is the Constitution of the United States:

"We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." (Preamble)

In contrast, note the preamble to the Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States:

"The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism."

The application for Party Membership when in use contained the preamble.

The Membership Card of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. under—"Rights and Duties of Party Members" did provide that the members shall "strive to master the program and policies of the Party, the principles of Marxism-Leninism".

To make it more difficult to prove that Mr. X is a member the Membership cards have been abolished; the membership list is "underground".

However, irrespective of what the body of the Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States may seem to say, the members must endorse and absorb the dialectic "Principles of Scientific Socialism, Marxism-Leninism".

WHAT IS MARXISM?

Lenin defines it:

"A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat". (Lenin—S. R. 31)

WHAT IS LENINISM?

Stalin defines it:

"Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution, or, to be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular." (Stalin—F. L.)

"Leninism is a school of theory and practice which trains a special type of worker for the Party and the state and creates a special Leninist style. What are the special features: (a) the wide outlook of the Russian revolutionist and (b) American practicality".

"Only a party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward. . . . The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of Society, the science of the working-class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of a Communist Society". (S. H. 355)

WHAT IS THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT?

Stalin defines it:

"To put it briefly, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a domination THAT IS UNTRAMMELED BY LAW AND BASED ON VIOLENCE AND ENJOYS the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses". (Stalin, F. 4, *supra*)

Comment:

If it be suggested that nothing has been said about the Constitution of the U. S. S. R., the answer is that little need be said. Its Constitution is camouflage for the unwary.

The U. S. S. R. is governed under that Constitution precisely as directed by Stalin and the Politburo. We need pay no more attention to that Constitution than does the Party's own Short History.

The Eighth Congress of the Soviets (not the Party) adopted a new Constitution in November, 1936. (S. H. 341-6)

"The Soviet Country thus acquired a new Constitution a Constitution embodying the Victory of Socialism and workers' and peasants' democracy". (S. H. 346)

In the Short History, the word "Party" referring to the Bolshevik Party is always spelled with a capital "P". The word "democracy" is spelled with the lower case "d". Dealing with "historical materialism" the spelling is significant. To the Communist, "Democracy" is a front for capitalism and with the small "d" it is purged. The Party with a capital "P" is Power—Power over and destructive of democracy.

No matter the language used in the body of the Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States to assert the claim that it is a "Political Party" the member must accept the doctrine of "Marxism-Leninism".

You may now understand why the American Bar Association has resolved to expel and recommends the disbarment of all lawyers "who are members of the Communist Party of the United States, or who advocate Marxism-Leninism".

The advocate of "Marxism-Leninism", whether or not a Party member, is a Communist and as such must believe in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. He must and does, no matter what he says, believe in the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. He has ceased to be an American.

The Communist Party of the United States is not a "Political Party".

It is dominated by Moscow and exists above or below ground awaiting the day of the Revolution.

Perhaps before closing we should "explain" another confusing term—"Dialectical Materialism".

The Short History devotes pages 105 to 131, inclusive, in explanation of "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" and uses words only to make other words more confusing.

However, being material, if not scientific, we proceed:

In life and time there is neither God nor Truth.

Facts are what you make them; if they qualify "in the Market Place" that is the truth for today. Tomorrow it may be a different market place and an entirely different truth.

Two and two do not make four if the leader determines the answer is three or five.

Being materialists the truth is what those in Power say it is.

In History, facts, dates, individuals, groups, ideas and reasons are changed to fit the present occasion; and in the next publication realigned to meet the then present occasion.

Obtain Orwell's "1984" from your library or book seller. Read it and compare it with the stated plans that Marx, Lenin and Stalin have for us.

But with each set of changing truths, remember that the fact finders have their vision fixed on the terminus of the long road ahead—the ultimate goal—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat “all over the World”.

The writers of this brief enjoy the following quotation from Lenin above all others:

“... We want the Socialist revolution with human nature as it is now, with human nature that cannot do without subordination, control, and ‘managers’. . . . But if there is subordination, it must be to the armed vanguard . . . to the proletariat”. (Lenin—S. R.)

Perhaps that is why:

“In Russia we abolished the bourgeoisie Legal Bar, but it is returning in the guise of ‘Soviet Legal Defenders’”. (L. W.)

CONCLUSION

Adolph Hitler in “Mein Kampf” told the world precisely what he was going to do. Nobody believed him until he did exactly what he said he was going to do. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are just as frank. “Clear, one would think”, says Mr. Stalin (P. L.). And Stalin is doing precisely as they and he have spelled out the words.

Since the Communist Party of the United States is an integral part of the conspiratorial whole of Communism, it is not a “political party” in any conceivable sense of that expression.⁵

While all members of the Communist Party of the United States are Communist conspirators, all Communist conspirators are not members of the Communist Party. The most important, dangerous and influential Communists or Fellow Travelers, may be forbidden by their leaders to hold official membership in the Party. They may and do have special work to do (Cf. Hiss, White and the like).

The safety of Constitutional freedom in the United States demands, first, an exposure of Communist tenets and objectives—Marxism-Leninism—and, secondly, resistance to the advancement of their principles and the promotion of these objectives by any person, party, group or organization.

Communism, Marxism-Leninism,—establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is definitely not a “reform” movement to make mankind happier, more prosperous and free. It is a system which destroys freedom and establishes the

⁵ Dowd's Case, 339 U. S. 382; 423; 94 L. Ed. 925, 956.

Schneiderman v. U. S., 330 U. S. 118; 87 L. Ed. 1796.

U. S. v. Dennis, 183 Fed. (2d) 201.

U. S. v. Dennis, U. S. Advance Sheets, June, 1951.

Martin v. Law Society of British Columbia, 3 Dom. L. Rep. 173.

complete slavery of all who are subject to it. Violence—force—is the only law it recognizes: violence to obtain power, and force to retain it.

Under the thesis of the Communist writers, supra, the individual will have lost both his liberty and his property. His very life hangs precariously on the whim of the Dictator.

It was precisely to protect these three basic rights that the American Constitutional concept was established by the founding fathers. The avowed purpose of Communism is to destroy by force all that our Constitutional System was designed to protect.

How can anyone after reading the official Communist writers, seriously contend that the Communist movement is a legal or constitutional project in the United States—where our Federal Constitution and that of all the States expressly calls for the protection of life, liberty and property.

While they are ridiculing our courts, exciting and inflaming our “minority groups”, infiltrating government departments, labor unions, schools, the press, movies and radio, you may depend upon the Communist conspirators to promote socialism and socialistic enterprises with their whole heart and to the full extent of their extensive resources. Pointing as they are toward the all-powerful State, they may be depended upon to support the increased domain of government in business, in credit, in transportation, in communication, in housing and power projects. If these socialistic enterprises were not conducive to the advancement of the Communist cause, the Communists would not support them—but they always do.

The conflict between Communism and the American Republic is a conflict of basic ideas. It is a war of Faith and Freedom against Despair and Despotism. The American Constitutional system was, as James Madison said, staked upon our faith in the capacity of mankind for self-government. Our government, rightly restricted by Constitutional provisions, checks, balances and bill of rights, was given a very narrow, very special assignment. It was not designed to control all of us all around the clock, because the men who designed it were confident that the overwhelming majority of their fellow Americans would always be capable of controlling themselves according to the moral law of Him who created them. Our political and governmental coercions were meant to operate on the periphery of our society;—for the eccentric few who had lost the moral power to control themselves. To construct such a system required great Faith in God and in man. If our forefathers doubted and distrusted any one thing it was the power of government itself which Washington said was “like fire, a dangerous servant and a fearful master”. They had faith in personal freedom as the gift of the Creator and they were confident that free men under a Constitutionally restricted government would build the best of all known civilizations.

It is this citadel of Faith and Freedom that the Communists now proceed to undermine with their materialistic dispensation of despair. The man whom God

made in his own image the Communists would remake into a soul-less serf. Read their Communist Manifesto and see what they have in store for us—and how much of it they have already accomplished—right here in the U. S. A.

That is why the American Bar Association became the "vanguard" in resolving to oust the Fellow Travelers of Communism and Marxism-Leninism from its rolls, and recommended disbarment by the local bars.

Otherwise, unless "We, the People of the United States" establish an impassable barrier, as stated by one of the distinguished authors of "The God that Failed", the final battle will be between Communists and ex-Communists—because the latter understand precisely "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"—"Freedom vs. Slavery".



AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

3

Brief on

COMMUNISM: MARXISM-LENINISM

Its Aims, Purposes, Objectives and Practices